# DARWIN'S JOURNAL



#### EDITED BY

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## DARWIN'S JOURNAL

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In his Autobiography,<sup>1</sup> Darwin referred to a "little diary, which I have always kept", in which he recorded the work on which he was engaged, the time which he took in completing each of his researches, the books in which they were described, and his movements from place to place. The document itself was headed "Journal". Francis Darwin also referred<sup>2</sup> to his father's "Diary or Pocket-book" as having been of great help to him in writing and compiling the Life and Letters. He added that "it was unfortunately written with great brevity, the history of a year being compressed into a page or less, and contains little more than the dates of the principle events of his life, together with entries as to his work, and as to the duration of his more serious illnesses".

Some important quotations have been published<sup>3</sup> from the Journal, such as the famous entry under the date 1837: "In July opened first note book on 'transmutation of species'. Had been greatly struck from about month of previous March on character of South American fossils, and species on Galapagos Archipelago. These facts origin (especially latter) of all my views".

The chronological framework which the Journal provides of Darwin's life is of such interest as to deserve publication, and by the courtesy of Sir Charles Darwin, K.B.E., F.R.S. and of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Library, and with the kind help of the Librarian, Mr. H. R. Creswick, M.A., it is printed below.

The manuscript<sup>4</sup> which has been used for transcription is not Darwin's autograph, but a copy made in a fair hand by a copyist who obviously had considerable difficulty in deciphering Darwin's handwriting. In numerous places there are corrections and indications of omissions in pencil in a hand which is presumably that of Francis Darwin. In some places there are duplications and chronological inversions (rationalized in the present transcription), but these occur mostly in the earlier part of the Journal and may have been made in the original autograph manuscript by Darwin himself if, as appears to be the case, the earlier entries were reconstructed from notes and memory at a later date which was probably August 1838 because that date is given at the head of the document, and it is also the date of an autobiographical fragment<sup>5</sup> covering his life up till 1838. That was about the time

<sup>2</sup> Life and Letters of Charles Darwin, edited by Francis Darwin, London 1887, vol. 1, p. iv. (Abbreviated as L. & L.)

<sup>4</sup> University Library Cambridge, Darwin MS. 140<sup>2</sup>. <sup>5</sup> More Letters of Charles Darwin, edited by Francis Darwin & A. C. Seward, London 1903, vol. 1, p. 1. (Abbreviated as M.L.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Autobiography of Charles Darwin, edited by Nora Barlow, London 1958, p. 116. (Abbreviated as Autob.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>L. & L., vol. I, p. 330; Charles Darwin. The Foundations of the Origin of Species, edited by Francis Darwin, Cambridge 1909, p. xiv; Charles Darwin & Alfred Russel Wallace: Evolution by Natural Selection, with a Foreword by Sir Gavin de Beer, Cambridge 1958, pp. 5, and 25.

when he determined to propose marriage<sup>1</sup> to his cousin Emma Wedgwood; and his balance-sheet of the advantages and disadvantages of the married state, which forms one of the most fascinating subjects which Lady Barlow has added to her Edition of the Autobiography, shows how his methodical mind ran to putting things down on paper.

There is also clear evidence of subsequent insertion into earlier entries, as in the case of Darwin's paper on Flustra, referred to in the winter of 1826-27 when it was delivered, but which Darwin inserted in 1873 from a footnote published in

Nature in that year.

From the year 1846 onwards the entries in the Journal are in two columns. The left hand column is clearly designed for entries relating to scientific work, while the right hand column is devoted to personal matters such as journeys to stay with friends or at hydropathic establishments, and dates of birth and death of children and relations. Occasionally, however, the distinction breaks down, as when the length of the period of his illnesses intrudes on the scientific record to justify the time spent on various subjects of research and books.

There is always an element of indiscretion in perusing a document which was never meant by its author for publication, but this one is of such value in throwing light on Darwin's life time-table that it is itself of scientific interest, and, as such, its study by others would not have been frowned on by him. It is presented as a contribution towards the celebration of the centenary of the publication of the book which, as Darwin himself recognized,3 was the chief work of his life: On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, 1859.

## IOURNAL

### Charles Darwin

1809. Feb. 12. Born at Shrewsbury Parish of St. Chad.

1813. Summer. Went to Gros near Abegele for sea-bathing, some of my earliest recollections dates from this.

1817. Went to Mr Case's School in the Spring (8 years old).

 July. My mother<sup>5</sup> died.
 July. Went with Erasmus<sup>6</sup> on party of pleasure to Liverpool. Midsummer. Went to Dr Butlers<sup>7</sup> School. September. Ill with Scarlet Fever.

1819. July. Went to sea, at Plas Edwards & staid there three weeks. 1820. July. Went tour with Erasmus to Pistyll Rhayader on horseback.

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Litchfield: Emma Darwin, Privately Printed, Cambridge 1904, vol. 1, p. 413. (Abbreviated as E.D.)

<sup>2</sup> Autob., pp. 231-4. 3 Autob., p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> L. & L., vol. 1, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Susannah (1765-1817), daughter of Josiah Wedgwood I.
<sup>6</sup> Erasmus Alvey Darwin (1804-1881), Darwin's eldest brother.
<sup>7</sup> Samuel Butler (1774-1839), at that time Head Master of Shrewsbury School. Grandfather of Samuel Butler (1835-1902), author of *Erewhon*.

1822. June. Tour with Caroline¹ to Downton. My first recollection of having some pleasure in scenery dates as far back as this. 13 years old.

July. To Montgomery & Bishop's Castle with Elizabeth.<sup>2</sup>

September. To old Mr. Cotton.3

1824. November. Marianne<sup>4</sup> was married to Dr Parker.<sup>5</sup>

1825. June 17th. Left Shrewsbury School for ever. 16 years old.

October. Went with Erasmus to Edinburgh.6

1826. June 15th. Walking tour into North Wales with Hubbersty. Oct. 30. Riding tour with Caroline, Vaynor Parle Bala &c.
November 6th. Went to Edinburgh by myself.

1826 Winter. Examined Marine Animals on shore of Firth of Forth with Dr Grant<sup>8</sup> & 1827 Coldstream.<sup>9</sup>

1827. In Spring went tour, Dundee, St. Andrews, Stirling. Afterwards Glasgow, Belfast,

Dublin & Port. Then London & Paris<sup>10</sup> with Uncle Jo.<sup>11</sup>

"The first paper contributed by him (Mr. Darwin) entitled 'On the Ova of the Flustra' in which he announces that he has discovered organs of motion, and secondly that the small black body hitherto mistaken for the young of Fucus loreus is in reality the ovum of Pontobdella muricata, exhibits his early habits of minute investigation." (From minutes of Plinian Soc:)12

These 2 papers were read by me at close of 1826 or early in 1827 before Plinian Soc: in

Edinburgh. My first paper 2d year in Edinburgh. I was then 18 years old.

In the Autumn paid many visits to Woodhouse.<sup>13</sup>

September. Maer<sup>14</sup> & Sir J. Mackintosh.<sup>15</sup>

Christmas. Went to Cambridge. 16

1827 Became acquainted with Fox<sup>17</sup> & Way<sup>18</sup> & so commenced Entomology.

<sup>1</sup> Caroline Sarah Darwin (1800-1888), Darwin's sister, afterwards wife of Josiah Wedgwood III.

<sup>2</sup> Susan Elizabeth Darwin (1803-1866), Darwin's sister.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Cotton of Shropshire pointed out to Darwin the erratic block in Shrewsbury known as the "Bell Stone" and told him that there was no similar rock nearer than Cumberland or Scotland. (L. & L. vol. 1, p. 41 and Autob., p. 52.)

<sup>4</sup> Marianne Darwin (1798-1858) Darwin's eldest sister.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Parker (1788-1856).

<sup>6</sup> Darwin signed the Matriculation Book of the University on 22 October 1825. (J. H. Ashworth: "Darwin as a Student in Edinburgh 1825–1827", Proc. Roy. Soc. Edinb., vol. 55, 1935, p. 97.)

<sup>7</sup> Probably Nathan Hubbersty (1803–1881) who was Assistant Master at Shrewsbury School 1826–8.

(J. A. Venn: Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. II, vol. 3, p. 470, Cambridge 1947.)

<sup>8</sup> Robert Edmund Grant (1793–1874). (J. H. Ashworth: op. cit.; and P. H. Jespersen: "Charles Darwin and Dr Grant", Lychnos 1948–49 (Uppsala 1950), p. 159.)

9 John Coldstream, ob. 1863.

<sup>10</sup> This was the only occasion when Darwin visited the Continent.

<sup>11</sup> Josiah Wedgwood II (1769–1843), brother of Darwin's mother.

<sup>12</sup> This entry is inserted from a footnote in *Nature* November 20, 1873, p. 38, and it shows that Darwin inserted it at this place in his diary in that year.

13 Woodhouse, near Shrewsbury, home of the Owen family. (cf. E.D., vol. 1, p. 180.)

<sup>14</sup> Maer Hall, 7 miles from Stoke upon Trent, Staffordshire, home of Josiah Wedgwood II. (Autob., p. 54.)

<sup>15</sup> Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832), whose wife Catherine née Allen was the sister of Elizabeth, wife of Josiah Wedgwood II.

<sup>16</sup> The Admittance Book at Christ's College shows that Darwin was admitted on 15 October 1827. (cf. Christ's College Magazine Darwin Centenary Number, vol. 23, Cambridge 1909, p. 189.)

17 William Darwin Fox (c. 1805–1880), grandson of William Alvey Darwin, brother of Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) Darwin's grandfather. William Darwin Fox was therefore Darwin's second cousin.

<sup>18</sup> Albert Way (1805–1874). (cf. Autob., p. 63.)

1828. Very keen in collecting insects in the Spring at Cambridge & at Barmouth in the Autumn. Summer. Went to Barmouth (with Herbert<sup>1</sup> & Butler<sup>2</sup>) to read with Butterton.<sup>3</sup> September. Maer & thence to Osmaston Hall<sup>4</sup> for Music Meeting.

1829. Summer. Paid Barmouth a visit.

October. Birmingham, Music meeting with Wedgwoods.

1830. Christmas. Vacation spent at Cambridge. Continued to collect insects, to hunt shoot & be quite idle.

Christmas passed my examination<sup>5</sup> for B.A. degree & kept the two following terms.

1831. During these months lived much with Prof<sup>r</sup> Henslow<sup>6</sup> often dining with him & walking with [him], became slightly acquainted with several of the learned men in Cambridge, which much quickened the zeal which dinner parties & hunting had not destroyed.

In the Spring paid Mr. Dawes<sup>7</sup> a visit with Ramsay,<sup>8</sup> Kirby<sup>9</sup> & talked over an excursion to Teneriffe.<sup>10</sup> In the Spring Henslow persuaded me to think of Geology & introduced

me to Sedgwick.<sup>11</sup>

During Midsummer Geologized a little in Shropshire.

August. Went on Geological tour by Llangollen, Ruthven, Conway, Bangor & Capel Curig where I left Professor Sedgwick & crossed the mountains to Barmouth. Returned to Shrewsbury at end of August. Refused offer of Voyage. 12

Sept. Went to Maer returned with Uncle Jo to Shrewsbury<sup>13</sup> thence to Cambridge.<sup>14</sup> London.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Maurice Herbert (1808–1882). (J. A. Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. II, vol. 3, p. 338, Cambridge, 1947. *cf. L. & L.*, vol. 1, pp. 49, 164, 166 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Thomas Butler (1806–1886), son of Samuel Butler Head Master of Shrewsbury School, B.A. Cantab 1829. (J. A. Venn: *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, pt. II, vol. 1, p. 478, Cambridge 1940.)

<sup>3</sup> George Ash Butterton (1805–1891).

4 Osmaston Hall, near Derby. William Alvey Darwin (1726–1783) of Sleafort, eldest brother of Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802) (Darwin's grandfather), had a daughter Anne who married Samuel Fox of Osmaston. Their son was William Darwin Fox.

<sup>5</sup> Darwin was placed 10th in the list of January 1831 of successful candidates who did not seek Honours.

(cf. Autob., p. 59.)

Darwin was admitted B.A. on 26 April 1831. (L. & L., vol. 1, p. 163.)

<sup>6</sup> John Stevens Henslow (1796–1861).

<sup>7</sup> Richard Dawes (1793-1867).

<sup>8</sup> Marmaduke Ramsay (ob. 1831), brother of Sir Alexander Ramsay 2nd Bart., admitted to Jesus College, 1814, Tutor of Jesus College. (cf. L. & L. vol. 1, p. 54.)

William Kirby (1759–1850), was at that date 71 years old; if not he, unidentified.

<sup>10</sup> In anticipation of his visit to Tenerife, Darwin learned Spanish, an accomplishment which must have been of the greatest value to him when visiting South America in the Beagle. (cf. L. & L., vol. 1, p. 190.) It is not generally known that Darwin also contemplated a voyage to South America. This emerges from the following letter addressed by the Hydrographer of the Navy, Captain Francis Beaufort R.N. (1774–1857), to Captain Robert FitzRoy R.N., for the text of which I am indebted to Rear-Admiral K. St. B. Collins, R.N., O.B.E., D.S.C., Hydrographer of the Navy.

Cap<sup>n</sup> Fitzroy

My dear Sir,

I believe my friend Mr. Peacock of Triny College Cambe has succeeded in getting a "Savant" for you—A Mr. Darwin grandson of the well known philosopher and poet—full of zeal and enterprize and having contemplated a voyage on his own account to S. America.

Let me know how you like the idea that I may go or recede in time.

F. B.

<sup>11</sup> Adam Sedgwick (1785–1873).

12 Darwin's letter of refusal to Henslow was dated 30 August 1831 (L. & L., vol. 1, p. 195.) The fact that Darwin had himself contemplated a voyage to South America on his own account (see footnote 10) must have made this refusal all the more painful.

13 Josiah Wedgwood's drive from Maer to Shrewsbury to persuade Darwin's father to allow Darwin

to sail in the Beagle was on I September 1831. (Autob., pp. 71, 226 ff.)

<sup>14</sup> Darwin went to Cambridge on 2 September 1831. (L. & L., vol. 1, p. 199; Autob., p. 72.)

15 Darwin was at 17 Spring Gardens in London by 5 September, 1831. (L. & L., vol. 1, p. 201.)

Sept. 11 Went with Capt. FitzRoyl in Steamer to Plymouth to see the Beagle,2

Sept. 22<sup>nd</sup> Returned to Shrewsbury passing through Cambridge.

Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup> Took leave of my home, staid in London.

Oct. 24th Reached Plymouth.

October & November. These months very miserable.

December 10th Sailed, but were obliged to put back.

21st Put to sea again & were driven back.

27<sup>th</sup> Sailed from England on our Circumnavigation.

1832. Jan. 16th First landed on a tropical shore (St. Jago).

Feb. 29th Landed at Brazil.

Dec 2 ,, Tierra del Fuego.

- 1833. Dec 6th Sailed for last time from Rio Plata.
- 1834. June 10th Sailed for last time from Tierra del Fuego.
- 1835. Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> Sailed from West Shores of South America.
- 1836. May 31 Anchored at the Cape of Good Hope.

October 2<sup>nd</sup> Anchored at Falmouth.

,, 4th Reached Shrewsbury after absence of 5 years and 2 days.

, 14th London.

,, 15<sup>th</sup> Cambridge.

. 20th London.

,, 28th Beagle arrived at Woolwich, was paid off, November 17th.

November 12th Maer.

16th Shrewsbury.

December 2nd London.

,, 13<sup>th</sup> Cambridge.

1837. Jan. Cambridge, time spent in arranging general collection examining minerals, reading & writing little Journal in the evening. Paid two short visits to London & Read paper on elevation of Coast of Chile.<sup>3</sup>

March 6th Left Cambridge to reside in London.

" 13th Entered my Lodgings in 36 Gt Marlborough St.

May. Paper on Coral formation<sup>4</sup> to Geolog. Soc: ditto. on deposits in Pampas.<sup>5</sup>

In July opened first note book on "Transmutation of Species"—Had been greatly struck from about Month of previous March on character of S. American fossils—& species on Galapagos Archipelago. These facts origin (especially latter) of all my views.

From March 13th to end of September entirely employed in my Journal.6

June 26th Short visit to Shrewsbury.

Sept. 25th Shrewsbury returned by Maer & reached London Oct. 21st.

Nov. 20th Two days Isle of Wight to see Fox.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Robert FitzRoy (1805–1865).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A brief history of H.M.S. Beagle is given in Sir Gavin de Beer: "Some unpublished letters of Charles Darwin", Appendix II. Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, vol. 14, 1959.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: "Observations of proof of recent elevation on the coast of Chile, made during the Survey of H.M.S. Beagle, commanded by Capt. FitzRoy", read January 4, 1837. Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, 1838, p. 446.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Charles Darwin: "On certain areas of elevation and subsidence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, as deduced from the study of coral formations", read May 31, 1837. Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, 1838, p. 552.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Charles Darwin: "A sketch of the deposits containing extinct Mammalia in the neighbourhood of the Plata," read May 3, 1837. Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, 1838, p. 542.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Charles Darwin: Journal of Researches into the Geology and Natural History of the various countries visited by H.M.S. Beagle under the command of Capt. FitzRoy, R.N. from 1832–1836. London 1839.

October-November preparing scheme of Zoology of Voyage of Beagle,1 commenced Geology<sup>2</sup> & finished proofs of Journal—Paper on Worms forming mould.<sup>3</sup>

1838. Jan. 17th I finished my account of the Geology of the Galapagos Arch: & of Ascension. Feb. 25—Finished St. Helena & small islands in Atlantic. Also speculated much about "Existence of Species" & read more than usual.

March—Part. Mammalia in Zoology. Paper on earthquakes4 for Geolog. Soc:

April. Part. Birds for Zoology. Much time thus lost.

, 16th Began Geolog: Cape of Good Hope. King George Sound, Sydney.

May 1st Unwell, working at Geolog: as named and "species".

,, 10th Went to Cambridge for 4 days.

" 15<sup>th</sup> Began Geolog: of Hobart Town & New Zealand.

,, 22<sup>nd</sup> Began Geolog: of St Jago. Cape de Verdes.

June (Beginning). Preparing 1st part of Birds. St Jago Geology some little species

theory, & lost very much time by being unwell.

June 23<sup>rd</sup> Started in Steam Boat for Edinburgh (one day Salisbury Craigs).<sup>5</sup> Spent eight good days in Glen Roy returned by sea through Greenock, & Liverpool. Slept at Overton & reached Shrewsbury July 13<sup>th</sup>. Very idle at Shrewsbury, some notes from my Father. Opened note book connected with metaphysical enquiries.

July 29th Set out for Maer.

August 1st London. Began paper on Glen Roy and finished it.

August. Read a good deal of various amusing books & paid some attention to Metaphysical subjects.

Sept. 6th Finished paper on Glen Roy<sup>6</sup> one of the most difficult & instructive tasks I was ever employed on.

Spt. 14<sup>th</sup> Frittered these foregoing days away on working on Transmutation theories & correcting Glen Roy. Began Crater of Elevation theory.

All September read a good deal on many subjects; thought much upon religion. Beginning of October ditto.

October 5th Began Coral Paper7 requires much reading.

25th Went to Windsor for two days rest, glorious weather, delightful.

October 27th Preface & Addenda on Theory of Erratic Blocks8 to Journal.

November 9<sup>th</sup> Started for Maer.

11th Sunday. The day of days!9

Went to Shrewsbury the next day returned to Maer on the 17th & to London on the 20th.

<sup>1</sup> Ultimately published as "Zoology of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle, edited and superintended by Charles Darwin, London 1840-1843.

<sup>2</sup> Ultimately published as Geology of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle. London 1842-46.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the formation of mould", read November 1, 1837. Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, London 1838, p. 574, Trans. Geol. Soc., vol. 5, 1840, p. 505.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the Connexion of certain Volcanic Phenomena and on the formation of mountain-chains and the effects of continental elevations", read March 7, 1838. Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, 1838, p. 654, Trans. Geol. Soc., vol. 5, 1840, p. 601.

<sup>5</sup> At Edinburgh University, Darwin heard Professor Robert Jameson (1774–1854), a confirmed Neptunist, refer to trap-dykes at Salisbury Craigs as a fissure filled with sediment from above. (Autob.,

<sup>6</sup> Charles Darwin: "Observations on the Parallel Roads of Glen Roy, and of other parts of Lochaber in Scotland, with an attempt to prove that they are of marine origin ", Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc., 1839, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Ultimately published as The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs. Being the First Part of the Geology of the Voyage of the Beagle. London, 1842.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Darwin: "Note on a Rock seen on an Iceberg in 16° South Latitude", J. Geogr. Soc., vol. 9, 1839, p. 528.

The day of the acceptance of Darwin's proposal of marriage by Emma Wedgwood (1808-1896), daughter of Josiah Wedgwood II (1769-1843).

Lost 7<sup>th</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> of November unwell. Wasted entirely the last week of November. Beginning of December prepared number of Birds—From 6<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> busy about the House & domestic concerns. To the end of year House hunting, read a little and wasted some time by being unwell.

December 6th Emma came up to Town most fortunately for me.

December 21st Emma went to Maer.

December 31st Entered 12 Upper Gower St.1

1839. First week January correcting Glen Roy paper. Did nothing during rest of month. Jan 11th Went to Shrewsbury.

,, 15<sup>th</sup> ,, ,, Maer.

,, 18<sup>th</sup> ,, ,, London.

" 25th Shrewsbury.

,, 28th Maer.

Jany 29th Married at Maer 30 years old & returned to London.

Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> Began German.

Feby 7<sup>th</sup> Recommenced Coral Paper.

End of February & first week in March Earthquake Paper then a little work on Species & the Coral Paper.

End of March & nearly all April Coral Paper.

April 26<sup>th</sup> Went to Maer. Maer visit, some reading connected with Species but did very little on account of being unwell.

May 13<sup>th</sup> went to Shrewsbury.

" 20th went to London.

May 20<sup>th</sup> to July 30<sup>th</sup> Map for Coral Island.<sup>2</sup> Ornithological part of Beagle's Voyage.
—lost some time unwell, read little for Species; to 23<sup>rd</sup> of August. Coral Map & Horticult<sup>1</sup> Transact:

Aug. 23<sup>rd</sup> to Maer and thence on the 26<sup>th</sup> to Birmingham for the Meeting of the British Assoc:

Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> to Shrewsbury & staid there ten days.

Oct. 2<sup>nd</sup> Arrived in London.

December 27<sup>th</sup> A Boy³ born at ½ p. 9 a.m.

During my visit to Maer, read a little, was much unwell, & scandalously idle. I have derived this much good that *nothing* is so intolerable as idleness. The last week corrected earthquake paper. Begin. of Octob<sup>r</sup> correcting ditto. Ornithology. October 10<sup>th</sup> recommenced coral paper.

December 24<sup>th</sup> became unwell & with the exception of 2 or 3 days remained so till the 24<sup>th</sup> of February In the interval read a little for transmut. theory—but otherwise lost

three whole months.

1840. Again became unwell & did not commence coral volume till March 26th.

April 3<sup>rd</sup> Went to Shrewsbury for a week by myself. Did Coral Volume.

June 10th Went to Maer & paid a visit to Shrewsbury.

Aug. 4 Taken ill.

Nov. 14 Came up to London. During the summer when well enough did a good deal of Species work.

Dec. 15<sup>th</sup> Commenced last number of Birds for Zoology of Beagle's Voyage. Finished Feb. 20<sup>th</sup> 1841.

<sup>1</sup> 12 Upper Gower Street, the Darwins' home from 1839 until September 1842. This house, renumbered 110 Gower Street, was destroyed by a bomb early in 1941.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The map published in *Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs*; it shows atolls dark blue, reefs pale blue, and fringing reefs red, from which Darwin was able to show the previous elevation and subsidence of different areas of the earth's surface.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> William Erasmus Darwin (1839–1914).

1841. Commenced paper on Boulders & Till of S. America<sup>1</sup>—finished April 4<sup>th</sup>. Was idle & unwell.

March 2<sup>nd</sup> Annie<sup>2</sup> born. Sorted papers on species theory.

May 28th Went to Maer & Shrewsbury reading very little returned to London July 23rd. July 26th commenced coral work after more than 13 months interval.

1842. Jan. 3. Sent MS. of Coral to Printers.

March 7th Went to Shrewsbury for 10 days.

May 6th Corrected last proof of Coral volume. I commenced this work 3 years & 7 months ago. Out of this period about 20 [months] (besides work during Beagle Voyage) has been spent on it & besides it I have only completed the Bird part of Zoology: Appendix to Journal—Paper on Boulders & corrected Paper on Glen Roy & earthquakes, reading on Species & rest all lost by illness.

May 18th Went to Maer.

June 15th to Shrewsbury & on 18th to Capel Curig. Bangor. Carnarvon to Capel Curig altogether ten days, examining glacier action. During my stay at Maer & Shrewsbury (5 years after commencement) wrote pencil sketch of my Species theory.<sup>3</sup>

July 18th returned to London. Wrote paper on Glaciers.4—copied notes on Species. Employed about Down5—Emma came to Down September 14th & I followed on 17th. Sept 23rd Mary Eleanor<sup>6</sup> born. Ob: October 16th.

October 14th began on Volcanic Islands7 to shorten and rearrange Covington's8

July 8th to Maer & Shrewsbury for a week.

July 12th Josiah Wedgwood<sup>9</sup> died. Previous to this did little in the Spring from Building<sup>10</sup> except some species work, & returned to volcanic Islands on my return.

September 25<sup>th</sup> Henrietta Emma<sup>11</sup> born.

October 12th to Shrewsbury for 12 days. Paper on Sagitta<sup>12</sup> and on seeds, <sup>13</sup> preservation of. Sixteen months about Volcanic Isl<sup>d</sup> Book. 1844. Jan. 5<sup>th</sup> Sent MS. of Volcanic Islands to Printers.

Feb. 13th finished corrections. In intervals & previously slowly enlarged & improved pencil sketch in 35 pages (written in Mid-summer of 1842) of Species theory<sup>14</sup>. April 23rd to Maer & Shrewsbury, returned May 30th.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the Distribution of the Erratic Boulders and on the Contemporaneous Unstratified Deposits of South America ", Proc. Geol. Soc., vol. 3, 1842, p. 425, read May 5, 1841; Trans. Geol. Soc. vol. 6, 1842, p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Anne Elizabeth Darwin (1841-1851).

<sup>8</sup> Printed in The Foundations of the Origin of Species, edited by Francis Darwin, Cambridge 1909; and in Evolution by Natural Selection, with a Foreword by Sir Gavin de Beer, Cambridge, 1958.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Darwin: "Notes on the Effects produced by the Ancient Glaciers of Caernaryonshire, and on the Boulders transported by Floating Ice", Lond. Philos. Mag., vol. xix, 1842, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Down House, Kent was Darwin's home for the remainder of his life.

<sup>6</sup> Mary Eleanor Darwin (born and died 1842).

<sup>7</sup> Charles Darwin: Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands and parts of South America visited during the Voyage of the H.M.S. Beagle. Being the Second part of the Geology of the Voyage of the Beagle London 1844.

<sup>8</sup> Syms Covington c. 1816–1861; Darwin's attendant in the *Beagle* and amanuensis after his return until 1839. (cf. Sir Gavin de Beer: "Some unpublished letters of Charles Darwin", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 14, 1959.)

9 Josiah Wedgwood II, Darwin's uncle and father-in-law.

10 (cf. L. & L. vol. 1, p. 321.)

<sup>11</sup> Henrietta Emma Darwin (1843–1929), afterwards Mrs. Litchfield.

12 Charles Darwin: "Observations on the Structure and Propagation of the genus Sagitta", Ann.

Mag. Nat. Hist., vol. 13, 1844, p. 1.

13 Ultimately published as "Vitality of Seeds", Gardeners' Chronicle, 1855, p. 758; and "On the Action of Sea-water on the Germination of Seeds", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.) vol. 1, 1857, p. 130. <sup>14</sup> Printed in The Foundations of the Origin of Species, edited by Francis Darwin, Cambridge 1909;

and Evolution by Natural Selection, with a Foreword by Sir Gavin de Beer, Cambridge 1958.

July 5<sup>th</sup> Sent a written Sketch of Species theory (seven years after commencement) in about 230 pages to Mr. Fletcher<sup>1</sup> to be copied—Corrected it last week in Sept:

Paper on Atlantic Dust,<sup>2</sup> on Planariae.<sup>3</sup> Sorted my collections.

July 27<sup>th</sup> Began S. America.<sup>4</sup> October 18<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> at Shrewsbury.

1845. April 24th Finished first time over S. America (9 months)

April 25<sup>th</sup> Began 2<sup>nd</sup> Edit of Journal.<sup>5</sup> August 25<sup>th</sup> finished ditto (4 months). Rested idle for a fortnight.

April 29th to Shrewsbury returned 10 May.

July 9th George Howard<sup>6</sup> born.

Sept. 15<sup>th</sup> to Shrewsbury. Lincolnshire—York, the Dean of Manchester, Waterton, Chatsworth, Chatswort

Oct. 29<sup>th</sup> Recommenced Geolog: of S. America. 4000 Copies of New Edit of Journal sold at Jan. 1. 1847.

1846. Oct. 1. Finished last proof of my Geolog: Observations in S. America. This volume including paper in Geolog: Journal on the Falkland Islands took me 18 & ½ months. The MS. however was not so perfect as in case of Volcanic Islands so that my Geology has taken me 4 & ½ years: now it is 10 years since my return to England. How much time lost by illness.

Oct. 1. Paper on new Balanus Arthrobalanus<sup>12</sup> 10 days in London during 2 visits 4 visitors here & some days unwell.

November, December, Conia & Megatrema.

1847. Jan. 1. Conia.

Feb. Balanus.

March Acasta & Clisia.

April 14th Lost several weeks by

1846. Feb 21st to Shrewsbury, March 3<sup>rd</sup> home.

July 31st to ditto Aug. 9th Home.

September 9<sup>th</sup> with Emma to Brit Ass<sup>oc</sup> at Southampton, on the 12<sup>th</sup> to Portsmouth & coast of Isle of Wight, on 13<sup>th</sup> to Winchester & S. Cross, on 14<sup>th</sup> Netley Abbey & Southampton Common 17<sup>th</sup> Home.

September 22<sup>nd</sup> With Em & Susan to Knole Park.<sup>11</sup>

1847. Feb. 19<sup>th</sup> to Shrewsbury March 5<sup>th</sup> Home.

> June 22<sup>nd</sup> to Brit. Assoc<sup>n</sup> at Oxford. Blenheim, Nuneham, Dropmore, Burn-

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Fletcher: unidentified. Later Darwin employed Ebenezer Norman, appointed schoolmaster in the village of Downe in 1854, to copy manuscripts for him.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Darwin: "An Account of the fine Dust which often falls on vessels in the Atlantic Ocean",

J. Geol. Soc., vol. 2, 1846, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: "Brief Description of several terrestrial *Planariae*, and of some remarkable marine species, with an account of their habits", *Ann. Mag. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 14, 1844, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Darwin: Geological Observations on South America. Being the Third part of the Geology

of the Voyage of the Beagle. London 1846.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Darwin: Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the countries visited during the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle round the world, under the command of Captain Fitzroy, R.N. London 1845.

<sup>6</sup> George Howard Darwin (1845–1912).

<sup>7</sup> The Hon. and Rev. William Herbert (1778-1847), the distinguished plant geneticist. (cf. L. & L., vol. 1, p. 343.)

8 Charles Waterton (1782-1865). (cf. L. & L., vol. 1, p. 343.)

9 (cf. L. & L., vol. 1, p. 344.)

<sup>10</sup> Camp Hill, Staffs, home of Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1778–1856).

11 Knole Park (or Knowle Park) near Sevenoaks.

12 This was the start of Darwin's work on the Cirripedia, but the paper on Arthrobalanus does not seem to have been published.

1847—(contd.)

Boils & unwellness. Tubicinella Coronula.

Dec. 18th Anat of Pedunculated Cirres.

From Jan. 1st 1847 to Jan 1848, 236 copies sold of my Journal by Murray. Total up to Jan. 1. 1848, 4100.

1848. March 20. Finished Scientific Instructions¹ & Transportal of Boulders from Lower to Higher level.²

April 19<sup>th</sup> Paper read on Transportal of Boulders. Both these done in Intervals of Work.

About Nov<sup>r</sup> 1. Began species of Anatifera—Jan: 13. 49 finished ditto. From July to end of year, unusually unwell, with swimming head, depression, trembling, many bad attacks of

sickness.

1849. Jan 1<sup>st</sup> to March 10<sup>th</sup> Health very bad with much sickness & failure of power. Worked on all well days.

March 10<sup>th</sup> to June 30<sup>th</sup>, at the Lodge Malvern, perfectly idle, health greatly improved.

July 13<sup>th</sup> Recommenced systematic part of the pedunculate Cirripedia. Recent & Fossil.

1850. Apr 28th Commenced systematic Sessilia.

Dec. 30. finished Balanus & Pachylasma.

ham Beeches home July 1<sup>st</sup>.

October 22<sup>nd</sup> to Shrewsbury—Nov.
5<sup>th</sup> Home.

1848. May 17<sup>th</sup> to Shrewsbury June 1<sup>st</sup> Home.

July 22<sup>nd</sup> to Swanage by Wareham & Corfe Castle. Home 29<sup>th</sup> by Sir W. Symonds<sup>3</sup> yacht. Poole spending a morning in new forest.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> to Shrewsbury Oct 25<sup>th</sup> Home.

Nov 17<sup>th</sup> to ditto Nov<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Home. My father<sup>4</sup> died in morning of Nov<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> in his 83<sup>rd</sup> year. Born at Lichfield on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1766. He was 3<sup>rd</sup> son of Erasmus Darwin (born at Elston in 1731. Settled in Shrewsbury about 1786.)

1849. Sept<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> Brit Asso<sup>n</sup> at Birmingham going to Malvern on the Sunday.

1850. June 11<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Malvern.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> Leith Hill.<sup>6</sup>

Oct<sup>r</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Hartfield<sup>7</sup> — 18<sup>th</sup> to
Ramsgate 22<sup>nd</sup> Home.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Darwin contributed Section VI (Geology) to a Manual of Scientific Enquiry; prepared for the use of H.M. Navy: and adapted for travellers in General, edited by Sir John Herschel, London 1849.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the transportation of Erratic Boulders from a lower to a higher level", J. Geol. Soc., vol. 6, 1848, p. 315, read April 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rear-Admiral Sir William Symonds (1782–1856), Surveyor of the Navy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Robert Waring Darwin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Darwin took the Lodge, Great Malvern, to enable him to undergo the water-cure.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Leith Hill Place, home of Josiah Wedgwood III (1795–1880), brother of Darwin's wife, husband of Darwin's sister Caroline, and Darwin's first cousin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> There were two houses at Hartfield Sussex, which the Darwin family frequented. One was Hartfield Grove, home of Charles Langton (1801–1866) and his wife Charlotte Wedgwood (1797–1862), sister of Josiah Wedgwood and of Darwin's wife. The other was The Ridge, home of Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1793–1880). They were given up in 1862. (cf. E.D. ii, p. 199.)

1851. Early part finished fossil Lepadidae1 prepared for press recent Lepadidae.2

Augt 18th began proofs.

Nov 12th Finished ditto & began Genus Conia (or Sessile Cs) & Elminius.

1852. Whole year Sessile Cirriped Genera Acasta, (Pyrgoma & Escuria 41 days) Coronula (19 days), Platylepas, Tubi-Xenobalanus, cinella, Chelonobia (Chthamalus 36 days) Chamaesipho, Octomeris, Catophragmus, Balanus recommenced: Mr Sowerby's6 drawings Balanidae. Began Verruca.

1853. Whole year preparing MS. of Sessile Cirripeds for press viz. Verruca, Cryptophialus, Alcippe. Mr Sowerby for drawing Sept. 20 Class Cirripedia.

1854. Feb 3 First proof of Sessile Cirripedia.10

July 15 Final Revise of ditto.

Sept 9th Finished packing up all my Cirripedes preparing fossil balanidae distributing copies of my work &c. &c. &c. I have yet a few proofs for Fossil Balanidae<sup>12</sup> for Pal: Soc: to complete perhaps a week more work. Began Oct I 1846. On Oct I it will be 8 years since I began! but then I have lost I or 2 years by illness.

Sept 9 Began sorting notes for Species theory.14

1851. March 24th to Malvern with Annie & Etty,3 returned home 31st.

> April 16th started for Malvern April 23rd our dear child4 expired 24th. I returned to Emma, our darling was born March 2nd 1841.

July 30th to London Augt 10th returned Erasmus house<sup>5</sup> for Exhibition &c.

- 1852. March 24th to Rugby for a day thence to Shrewsbury, Home April 1st. Septr II to Leith Hill 16th Home again (Drove in Carriage by Godstone & Reigate).
- 1853. July 14th to Eastbourne<sup>7</sup> on to Brighton & Hastings. Home Augt

Augt 13th to Hermitage8 for Chobham 17th Home.

Nov 30. Royal Medal<sup>9</sup> given to me. 1854. March 13th to Hartfield on account of Franky's<sup>11</sup> illness returned on 17<sup>th</sup>.

July 13-15 Hartfield. Oct 9th 14th Leith Hill. Dec. Lenny<sup>13</sup> & Franky ill.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin: A Monograph of the Fossil Lepadidae, Palaeontographical Society, 1851.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charles Darwin: A Monograph of the Sub-class Cirripedia, Ray Society, London 1851, vol. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Henrietta Emma Darwin (1843–1929), afterwards Mrs. R. B. Litchfield.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Anne Elizabeth Darwin.

<sup>7</sup> Park Street, W.1., home of Erasmus Alvey Darwin (1804-1881), Darwin's brother.

George Brettingham Sowerby (1812-1884).
 The Darwins took Sea House, Eastbourne for 3 weeks in July, 1853.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Hermitage, near Woking, home of Henry Allen Wedgwood (1779–1885), brother of Josiah Wedgwood III and of Darwin's wife. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 168.)

<sup>9</sup> The Royal Medal of the Royal Society "awarded for his work entitled Geological Observations on Coral Reefs, Volcanic Islands, and South America and his work on the Fossil Cirripedia of Great Britain, Lepididae, and the Monograph on Cirripedia."

<sup>16</sup> Charles Darwin: A Monograph of the Sub-class Cirripedia, Ray Society, London 1854, vol. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Francis Darwin (1848-1925).

<sup>12</sup> Charles Darwin: A Monograph of the Fossil Balanidae and Verrucidae of Great Britain, Palaeontographical Society, London 1854. 13 Leonard Darwin (1850-1943).

<sup>14</sup> The preliminary work for the large book on natural selection,

- 1855. March & April employed chiefly in comparing seeds trying experiments in salting seeds & reading.
- 1856. May 14<sup>th</sup> Began by Lyell's advice writing Species Sketch

Oct 13 Finished 2<sup>nd</sup> Chapt (& before part of Geograph Distr.)

Dec. 16. 3<sup>rd</sup> Chapt.

1857. Jan. 26<sup>th</sup> Finished Ch. 4. Var: Nature.

March 3<sup>rd</sup> Fin<sup>d</sup> Ch. 5. Struggle for Existence.

March 31st Finished Ch. 6 Nat: Selection.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> Finished Ch. 7 & 8 but one month lost at Moor Park.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 30 to December 29<sup>th</sup> on Hybridism.

1858. March 9<sup>th</sup> finished instinct chapter. April 14<sup>th</sup> Discussion on large genera & small & on Divergence & correcting Ch. 6. (Moor Park) finished June 12<sup>th</sup> & Bees cells.

June 14<sup>th</sup> Pigeons (interrupted) July 20<sup>th</sup> to August 12<sup>th</sup> at Sandown began Abstract of Species book.<sup>8</sup>

Aug<sup>t</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> recommenced Selection & Pigeon M.S.

Sept 16<sup>th</sup> Recommenced Abstract Sect. III & IV.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 8 Began Sect V on Laws of Variation of Abstract finished 22<sup>d</sup>.
Oct<sup>r</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> Sect VI Difficulties finished.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Instinct (Moor Park).
,, 30<sup>th</sup> Hybridism.

Decr 11th Geological Succession.

1855. Jan 18 Went to 27 York Place, Baker St. Feb. 15 Returned home. Sep 10<sup>th</sup> Started for Glasgow. British Assocn Sleeping at Carlisle with Emma 19<sup>th</sup> return sleeping in Carlisle & reaching Shrewsbury on 20<sup>th</sup> & I returned home on 22<sup>nd</sup>.

1856. Sept 13th Leith Hill returned 19<sup>th</sup>. November A<sup>t</sup> Sarah<sup>2</sup> died.

Dec 6 Charles Waring Darwin<sup>3</sup> born.

1857. April 22<sup>d</sup> Moor Park,<sup>4</sup> Returned May 6<sup>th</sup>. Did me astonishing good.

June 16th to Moor Park, returned on

30th Etty there.

On 27<sup>th</sup> went to Selborne. In latter part of September for about week Lenny had very intermittent pulse; but now Oct<sup>r</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> seems quite well, latter part of Oct<sup>r</sup> occasionally poorly. Nov<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> seems quite well.

Novr 5th-12th Moor Park.

1858. April 20<sup>th</sup> Moor Park returned May 4<sup>th</sup>.

Etty very ill.

June 28th Poor dear Baby<sup>5</sup> died. July 9th to Hartfield, 16th to I of Wight, 17th to Sandown,<sup>6</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> Shanklin,<sup>7</sup> August 13<sup>th</sup> Home.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Moor Park. Returned Nov<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>.

Marianne Parker<sup>9</sup> died in July.

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1778-1856), sister of Josiah Wedgwood II.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Waring Darwin (1856-1858).

<sup>5</sup> Charles Waring Darwin.

<sup>7</sup> The Darwins stayed at Norfolk House, Shanklin. (cf. L. & L., ii, p. 131.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 27 York Place, Baker Street, was a house which the Darwins took for a month. (cf. E.D. ii, p. 170.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Moor Park, Hydropathic establishment in Surrey.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Darwins stayed at the King's Head Hotel, Sandown. (cf. L. & L., ii, p. 129.)

<sup>8</sup> On the Origin of Species.

<sup>9</sup> Darwin's eldest sister.

1859. Jan. 15 Abstract Geolog: Distr.
 Feb. 28 Affinities & Classification.
 March 19 Began relooking over first
 MS. Ch<sup>s</sup>. & finished last Chapter.

May 25th Began Proof sheets.

Oct. I Finished proofs. 13 months & 10 days on Abstract of Origin of Species. 1250 copies printed.

During end of November and beginning of December employed in correcting for 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition of 3000 copies.

Multitude of Letters.

The rst Editn was published on Novr 24th & all copies i.e. 1250 sold first day.

1860. Jan. 9<sup>th</sup> Began looking over MS. for work on Variation (with many interruptions). Letters & preparation for foreign edition on Variation.

March 24<sup>th</sup> Began Introduction to Vol.

June 10<sup>th</sup> Finished 2<sup>nd</sup> Ch. on Pigeons arranged paper for next Ch. & experiments.

August 11th Began Ch. III. During July at Hartfield & afterwards at Eastbourne worked at Drosera.

1861. March 20<sup>th</sup> Finished Ch. III on Variation under Domestication & began Ch. IV.

In Dec. last & Jan. prepared new & Third Edition of Origin: 2000 Copies.

May 16. Finished Fowls (8 weeks) ,, 31. Ducks.

July 1. During stay at Torquay did paper on Orchids. All rest of year Orchid Book.

1862. April 28 finished Orchis Book. Besides odd time for several years 1859. Medal from Geolog. Soc:1

Feb. 5<sup>th</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> Moor Park did not do me so much good as usual.

May 21<sup>st</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> Moor Park. July 19<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup> Moor Park.

Aug 20-23 Leith Hill.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Started for Ilkley.<sup>2</sup> Returned Home (staying in London two days) on Dec. 9<sup>th</sup>.

1860. Jan. Murray says 6000 Copies of my Journal now sold.

Jan<sup>y</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 3000 copies of Origin was published.

May 22. The 1st Edit. of Origin in U. States was 2500 copies.

June 28th to July 7th Sudbrooke Park.<sup>3</sup>

July 10<sup>th</sup> to Aug<sup>t</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Hartfield (Etty long ill).

Sept. 22 to Eastbourne.<sup>4</sup> Returned Nov<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> seven weeks owing to Etty's illness.

May 28<sup>th</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Edit. 180

July & Oct 2<sup>nd</sup> Edit. 636.13.4

May American Edit. 21.17.6

" (61) ditto 1861 10.10

1861 April 30. 3<sup>d</sup> Edit. 372.

1861. The new Edit. of Origin 2000 Copies was published in April.

July 1. Started for Torquay<sup>5</sup> & returned Aug<sup>t</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>, 8 weeks & a day.

1862. Feb. March & April. Horace<sup>6</sup> ill.

Wells Terrace, Ilkley: water-cure establishment. (cf. L. & L., ii, p. 218.)
 Sudbrooke Park, Richmond, Dr Lane's water-cure establishment. (cf. M.L., i, p. 158.)

<sup>4</sup> The Darwins took 15 Marine Parade, Eastbourne, for 9 weeks in September 1860. <sup>5</sup> The Darwins stayed at 2, Hesketh Crescent, Torquay. (cf. M.L., i, p. 190.)

6 Horace Darwin (1851-1928).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Darwin was awarded the Wollaston Medal by the Geological Society on 18 February 1859. Sir Charles Lyell received it on his behalf.

-(contd.)

this book has cost me 9 months if I do not count Torquay, but in this time I did Primula Paper.<sup>3</sup>  $2^{\rm nd}$  Edit (German) of Origin & experiments say 10 months counting  $\frac{1}{2}$  Time at Torquay.

May 15<sup>th</sup> Orchid Book<sup>4</sup> published. Much time wasted June & July from Leonard's illness. Finished Silk worms, geese &c.

Oct<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Facts of Varieties of Plants. Dec. 11<sup>th</sup> finished long chapter. Paper on Linum.<sup>5</sup>

Dec. 21. Bud variation.

1863. Jan. 23 Chapter on Inheritance, finished April 1st took me 6½ weeks, time lost by illness & London.

April I Chapter on Crossing and Sterility finished June 16<sup>th</sup> took me 8 weeks; time lost by Hartfield & Illness &c.

June 16<sup>th</sup> Selection, July 20<sup>th</sup> finished.

1864. Began to count seeds of Lythrum about April 20<sup>th</sup>. Finished Lythrum paper<sup>7</sup> about May 25<sup>th</sup>. Began Tendril paper<sup>8</sup> & finished it on Sept<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> but afterwards had about a fortnight for additions. Hence this paper on climbing plants took 4 months!!

Sep. 14. Began Laws of Variation for "Domestic Animals & Cult: Plants" & finished this Ch. on Nov<sup>r</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>. I then began going over again the earlier chapter of Book on "Domestic Animals &c."

May 15<sup>th</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> Leith Hill Place. June July August Leonard very ill Scarlet Fever.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> to Southampton.<sup>1</sup> Emma Scarlet Fever. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1 to Bournemouth.<sup>2</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 30 Home.

1863. Feb. 4<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> Stayed with Erasmus.

April 13<sup>th</sup> sick

April 20<sup>th</sup> Dr Jenner<sup>6</sup> April 22<sup>nd</sup> Dr Jenner.

April 27<sup>th</sup> to May 13<sup>th</sup> Hartfield & Leith Hill Place.

Sept<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Malvern Wells; returned Oct 14<sup>th</sup> Ill then. Ill to end of year. 1864. Ill all Jan. Feb: March, Last sickness April 13<sup>th</sup>.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 25. to Elizabeth for one week to Chester Place.<sup>9</sup>

The severe illness lasted seven months.

Copley Medal.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Darwins stayed at 1, Carlton Terrace, Southampton. (cf. M.L., i, p. 203.)

<sup>2</sup> The Darwins stayed at Cliff Cottage, Bournemouth. (cf. M.L., i, 204.)

<sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the two forms of dimorphic condition in the species *Primula*, and their remarkable sexual relations", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.), vol. 6, 1862, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Darwin: On the various contrivances by which Orchids are fertilized by insects, London 1862.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the existence of two forms, and on their reciprocal sexual relation, in several species of the genus Linum", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.), vol. 7, 1864, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Sir William Jenner (1815–1898), physician to University College Hospital.

<sup>7</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the sexual relations of the three forms of Lythrum salicaria", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.), vol. 8, 1865, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the movements and habits of climbing plants", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.), vol. 9, 1867, p. 1.

9 4, Chester Place, Regent's Park, home of Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1793-1880).

<sup>10</sup> The Copley Medal of the Royal Society was presented to Darwin 30 November 1864 " for his important researches in Geology, Zoology and Botanical physiology".

1865. Jan. 1. I continued on "Domestic Animals &c" Ch X till April 22nd when (with exception of one week) I became ill & remained so & unable to do anything (except read Origin for 2nd French Edit.) till early in Dec. when I began correcting Homomorphic seeds.

> On Dec. 25. began again on Chapt. X of Domestic Animals.

1866. Continued correcting Chaps of Domestic Animals.

> March 1st Began on 4th Edit of Origin of 1250 Copies: (Received for it 238 £) making 7500 copies altogether.

> May 10th Finished Origin except Revises & began going over Ch. XIII of Dom Animals.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 21. Finished Pangenesis.

Dec. 21. Finished regoing over all Chapters, & sent them to Printers.

Dec. 22. Began concluding chapter of Book.

1867. Last chapt of "Variation under Domestication " & beginning of Man Essay. First proof arrived March 1st. Revises finished Nov. 15th. I began this book beginning of 1860 (& then had some MS.), but owing to interruptions from my illness & illness of children, from various editions of Origin & papers especially Orchid book & Tendrils I have spent 4 years & 2 months over it-1260 Copies sold at Murray Sale.

> The Book not actually published until Jan. 30 1868.

1868. New Book on Var. under Domestication<sup>3</sup> published on Jan. 30 (1500 cops). On Feb 10th a new edition to be printed of 1250 Copies. Received for this edition 720 f.

> Began middle of December 1867 On illegitimate Offspring of Dimorphic

1865. Fell ill on April 22nd, got a little better in middle of Sept<sup>r</sup>.

> On Nov. 8th went to Erasmus & staid ten days & fell ill again with cold, but got better in beginning of Decem-

1866. April 21st to May 2nd to Erasmus. May 29th to June 2nd Leith Hill Place.

> Novr 22nd to 29th to Erasmus. Feby. 2 Catharine<sup>1</sup> died. Octr 3 Susan2 died.

1867. Feb. 13 to 21 to Erasmus. June 17 to 24 ditto Sept 18 to 24 ditto poorly all time. Nov<sup>r</sup> 28 to Dec. ditto very well.

1868. March 3 for a week to Erasmus4 & then for 3 weeks to Aunt Elizabeth's Returned home April 1st. June 23rd unwell & continued so to July 16th & did hardly anything. July 16th to Isle of Wight (Freshwater).6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Emily Catherine Langton née Darwin (1810-1866), wife of Charles Langton and Darwin's youngest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Susan Elizabeth Darwin (1803–1866), Darwin's sister.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication. London 1868.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Erasmus Darwin was living at 6, Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square. (cf. M.L., ii, p. 66.)
<sup>5</sup> 4, Chester Place, Regent's Park (cf. M.L., ii, p. 68.)
<sup>6</sup> At Mrs. Cameron's house, Dumbola Lodge, Freshwater, Isle of Wight, which the Darwins took for 6 weeks, Darwin was visited by Tennyson, Longfellow, and Thomas Appleton. Mrs. Cameron, née Pattle, was the sister of Mrs. Prinsep and Lady Somers. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 220.)

1868—(contd.)

& Trimorphic Plants & on specific difference of Primula<sup>1</sup> & finished Feb. 1.

Feb. 4<sup>th</sup> Began on Man & Sexual Selection.

May 17<sup>th</sup> Birds—Sexual Selection. Dec<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> Fifth Edition of Origin Edit. of 2000 Copies.

1869. Feb. 10<sup>th</sup> Finished 5<sup>th</sup> Edit of Origin² has taken me 46 days.

Feb. 11<sup>th</sup> Sexual Selection of Mammals & Man & Preliminary Chapter on sexual Selection (with 10 days for notes on Orchids) to June 10<sup>th</sup> when I went to North Wales.

On Aug<sup>t</sup> 4 recommenced going over all chapters on Sexual Selection.

1870. I find Murray has printed 9000 copies of my Journal of Travels & Colburn³ 1500 = 10,500 copies.

The whole of the year at work on the Descent of Man & Selection in relation to Sex. I began this work on Feb. 4<sup>th</sup> 1868 but many interruptions. Went to press Aug<sup>t</sup> 30 & finished last proof.

1871. I began "Descent of Man & S. Selection" on Feby 4th 1868. & I have now Jan 15th corrected last sheet; so it has taken me nearly 3 years, but the 5th Edit. of Origin took up 46 days & notes on Orchids 10 days; & health compelled many visits & rests.

Descent of Man published Feb. 24<sup>th</sup>. At first 2500 copies printed & 2000 reprinted. Received 1470f.

Jan 17. Began Expression & finished final rough copy on April 27. Many interruptions.

June 18th Began 6th Edit. of Origin;

Aug 21<sup>st</sup> Returned to Down having slept at Southampton.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 7<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Erasmus.

1869. Feb. 16<sup>th</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> to Erasmus.

June 10<sup>th</sup> started for Caerdeon,
Barmouth sleeping at Shrewsbury.
Returned July 31<sup>st</sup> having slept at
Stafford.

Weak & unwell.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> Erasmus.

1870. March 5–10 Erasmus.

May 20–24 Cambridge.<sup>4</sup>

June 24 to July 1. Erasmus.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 13–26 Southampton at William's.<sup>5</sup>

Oct 13–20 Leith Hill & I wrote. Dec. 8–14 Erasmus.

1871. Feb. 23 to March 2<sup>nd</sup> Erasmus.

April 1 to 5 ditto

May 11–19 Southampton.

June 24–30 Erasmus.

July 28 Haredene Albury, Home

Aug 25.

Aug 31. Henrietta married.

Dec. 12-22 Erasmus.

Nov. 3-10 Leith Hill Place.

<sup>2</sup> Published June 1869.

<sup>4</sup> Darwin stayed at the Bull Hotel, Cambridge.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Charles Darwin: "On the character and hybrid-like nature of the offspring from the illegitimate unions of dimorphic and trimorphic plants", J. Linn. Soc. Lond., (Bot.), vol. 10. 1869, p. 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Henry Colburn published the first edition of the Journal of Researches. London 1839.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Bassett, Southampton, home of William Erasmus Darwin (1839–1914), Darwin's eldest son, partner in a Bank in Southampton.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Haredene, Albury, near Guildford was a house which the Darwins took for a month. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 245.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Henrietta Emma Darwin, Darwin's daughter, married Richard Buckley Litchfield (1832–1903).

1871-(contd.)

Oct 29<sup>th</sup> finished MS. but lost 2 months by illness.

Nov. & Dec. Proofs of ditto & Expression &c. & illness & visits.

1872. Jan 10<sup>th</sup> Finished Proofs of Origin & again rewriting expression.

Aug<sup>t</sup> 22. Finished last Proofs of Expression<sup>2</sup> which I began on Jan 17<sup>th</sup> last year. (Has taken me about 12 months).

Aug<sup>t</sup> 23<sup>rd</sup> Began working at Drosera. Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup> Began writing on ditto.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> At Murrays Sale 5267 Copies of Expression Book sold to London Booksellers. The Edition consists of 7000 published November, 2000 at end of year additional.

1873. Jan 15 Finished Drosera 14<sup>th</sup> & recorrected climbing plants.

Feb. 3 Began on evil [sic] effects of inter-crossing.

June 14<sup>th</sup> Began Drosera again. Oct. 20 Began correcting Drosera

Nov. 20 Began correcting 2<sup>nd</sup> Edit of Descent of Man, & continued for rest of year & next year.

1874. Second Edit. of Descent and of Coral Reefs. The Descent took 3 months.

April 1. Began Insectivorous plants—(interruptions from Proof sheets) & went on whole rest of year, writing & some observations.

1875. March 29<sup>th</sup> finished MS. of Insectivorous & recorrecting climbing Plants.<sup>8</sup>

1872. Feb. 13 to March 21. London, 9 Devonshire S<sup>t</sup>. Portland Place<sup>1</sup> (5 weeks).

June 8–20 Southampton.
Augt 13 to 21 Leith Hill Place.
Oct 5 to 26 Sevenoaks Common.<sup>3</sup>
Decr 17 to 23 Erasmus (unwell all time).

1873. March 15<sup>th</sup> to April 10<sup>th</sup> at 16 Montague St.<sup>4</sup>

June 4<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Leith Hill Place Aug<sup>t</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> at Abinger,<sup>5</sup> from 9<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> at Basset.

Nov. 8–18<sup>th</sup> Bryanston S<sup>t6</sup> (very pleasant).

1874. Jan 10<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Erasmus.

Apl 21<sup>st</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> Henrietta.

July 25<sup>th</sup> to Abinger, 30 to William.

Augt 24<sup>th</sup> to Home.

Dec<sup>r</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup>—12 Henrietta's.

Frank<sup>7</sup> married July.

Copies sold in Germany of Translation Feb. 1. 1874 Origin 6500,

Descent of Man 5000, Var. 1700,

Expression 3000, Orchids 600.

1875. March 31st to Eras: & Litchfields, Home April 12th.

June 3<sup>rd</sup> to July 5<sup>th</sup> Abinger Hall.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>9, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, was a house which the Darwins took for a month. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 254.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Charles Darwin: The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals. London 1872.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Horace Darwin had lodgings at Sevenoaks.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 16, Montague Street, was a house which the Darwins took for a month. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 262.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Abinger Hall, home of Sir Thomas Henry Farrer, afterwards Lord Farrer, married firstly Cecilia Erskine; and secondly Katherine Euphemia Wedgwood, Darwin's wife's niece.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 4, Bryanston Street, home of Henrietta Emma Litchfield.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Francis Darwin married Amy Richenda Ruck.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Charles Darwin: The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants. London 1875.

1875—(contd.)

Began correcting 3rd June

Began writing with some observations on April 1st on Insectivorous Plants.

July 2<sup>nd</sup> Insectivorous Plants published. 2700 sold immediately.

July 6th Correcting 2nd Edit. of Var. under Domestication.

Oct 3rd Finished about Var under Domestication but shall have nearly month of more work with proofs &. Therefore I may say I began "On advantages of Crossing" on Septr 1st.

1876. May 5 Finished MS. first time over of effects of Cross Fertilization. Began correcting 2<sup>nd</sup> Edit<sup>n</sup> of Orchid Book, much labour, at Hopedene began my little Autobiography.

> June 11th Began going over for 2nd time MS. of effects of Cross Fertili-

sation.

Augt 19th Firs proofs of ditto.

Oct 21st Finished proofs. Published3 on Novr oth & 1500 copies sold by end of year. In intervals I worked at 2<sup>nd</sup> Edit. of Orchids. Nov<sup>r</sup> 14 finished first proof—published at end of year.

Nov 15th Began on Heterostyled Plants but in intervals I have done 2 or 3 weeks work say Nov. 1st I began on the book so during last 14 months I have done Effects of Cross Fertilisation & 2nd Edit. of Orchids; but then I had rough MS. written out of the experimental parts of "the Effect &c ".

1877. All the early part of Summer at work on "Different forms of Flowers" published (1250 copies) middle of July.

> From that time to end of year working on Bloom Spontaneous Movement of Plants & Heliotropism & a little on

Worms.

July 2nd Insectivorous Plants published. 3000 Copies printed.

Augt 28th to Sept 11th Southampton, William.

Nov. 4th & 5th Erasmus, Vivisection Commission.

Dec. 10th to 20th Bryanston St.

1876. Feb. 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> at Erasmus. Apl 27th to May 3 ditto. May 24th to Hopedene.1 June 7 Hollycombe.2 ,, 10th Home. Oct 4th Leith Hill. ,, 7th Southampton. " 20th Home.

Sept<sup>a</sup> 11 Poor Amy<sup>4</sup> died, a most dreadful blow to us all.

1877. Jan 6 to 15 Henrietta. April 12 to 28 ditto & Erasmus. June 8th Leith Hill, 13th to Southampton, Stonehenge & returned home July 4th.

> Augt 20-25. Abinger, delightful. Oct 26-29. Erasmus.

16-19 Cambridge, LL.D. Nov. Degree.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Charles Darwin: The Effects of Cross- and Self-fertilization in the Vegetable Kingdom, London 1876.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hopedene, Surrey, home of Hensley Wedgwood (1803–1891), Darwin's wife's brother.

<sup>2</sup> Hollycombe, near Midhurst, Sussex, home of Sir John Hawkshaw (1811–1891) whose son John Clarke Hawkshaw (1841–1921) married Cecily Mary Wedgwood (1837–1917) daughter of Francis Wedgwood (1800–1888) brother of Darwin's wife and son of Josiah Wedgwood II (1769–1843). Cecily Mary Hawkshaw's brother Godfrey Wedgwood (1833-1905) married Mary Hawkshaw as his first wife.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Amy, first wife of Francis Darwin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The degree of LL.D. was conferred on Darwin on 17 November, 1877.

- 1878. The whole of this last year on the circumnutating Movements of plants & bloom.
- 1879. The whole of this year on circumnutating movements of plants except about 6 weeks on Life of Erasmus Darwin.

- 1880. Circumnutating Movements. All Spring publishing MS. of "Power of Movement in Plants" & then Proof Sheets—Began in Autumn on Worms. Nov<sup>r</sup> 6th 1500 Copies of Power of Movement sold at Murrays Sale.
- 1881. All early part of year Worm book? published Oct: 10th 2000 Copies sold immediately, 5000 printed by December & corrected a new Edit. November on the action of C. of ammonia on Chlorophyll & on roots of Euphorbia & other plants.

[1882

April 17 Recorded an experiment for Francis Darwin.]

1878. Jan. 17-23 at Erasmus.

Feb. 27 to March 5. Bryanston St on account of Giddiness.

April 27 to May 13th Southampton. Augt 7th Leith Hill, Abinger, & Barlaston¹ Home Augt 22nd.

Nov. 19-27th Bryanston St.

1879. Feby 27 to March 5 at Erasmus on account of Elizabeth's illness.

May 6th Worthing. 8th Southampton. 21 Leith Hill 26th Home.

June 26th Erasmus, Baly Medal,2 28th Laura Forster.3

July 1. Home.

Augt 1 to 27 Coniston sleeping at Erasmus.

Decr 2nd to 11th Henrietta & Erasmus.

1880. March 4th-8th Erasmus.

April 8–13 Abinger, Horace &

May 25 to June 8 Southampton. Augt 14th to Cambridge,5 19th Erasmus, 21st Home.

Oct 20 to Nov<sup>r</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> Henrietta's

Nov. 8th Eliz: Wedgwood6 died. Dec<sup>r</sup> 7 Erasmus. 11<sup>th</sup> Leith Hill Place. 15<sup>th</sup> Home.

1881. Feb. 24th to March 3rd Bryanston St June 2nd to July 4th Patterdale.8 August 3rd to 5th to Erasmus.

26th Erasmus<sup>9</sup> died at night.

Sept. 8th to 10th to A. Rich Worth-

Oct 20–27 at Horace's at Cambridge. Decr 13th to 20th Bryanston St.

[1882

March 7 Suffered seizure on his last visit to 'Sand Walk'.

April 19 Darwin died at Down. April 26. Buried in Westminster Abbey.]

<sup>1</sup> Barlaston, Staffordshire, home of Francis Wedgwood (1800–1888), Darwin's wife's brother.

<sup>2</sup> The Baly Medal of the Royal College of Physicians.

Laura May Forster (1839-1924), of West Hackhurst, Abinger Hammer, Dorking, lent her house to the Darwins to minimize the fatigue caused by this journey to London. (cf. L. & L., iii, 224, and E. M. Forster: Marianne Thornton, London 1956.)

<sup>4</sup> Emma Cecilia Farrer (Ida) married Horace Darwin in 1880.

<sup>5</sup> The Darwins were visiting the Horace Darwins at Botolph Lane, Cambridge. (cf. E.D., ii, 306.)

 Sarah Elizabeth Wedgwood (1793-1880), eldest sister of Darwin's wife.
 Charles Darwin: The formation of vegetable mould through the action of worms, with observations on their habits. London, 1881.

<sup>8</sup> The Darwins took Glenrhydding House, Patterdale for a month. (cf. M.L., ii, p. 433.)

Erasmus Alvey Darwin (1804–1881), Darwin's brother.
 Anthony Rich, of Heene, Worthing. (cf. E.D., ii, p. 291.)

